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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TODAY

George Squires Herrington

The principal question raised for inquiry in the study¹ upon which this article is based concerns the extent to which educational sociology has become a significant factor in the training of teachers. In 1926 Harvey Lee made a nationwide survey of the field in his study entitled, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, Colleges, and Universities*.² His investigation provides a basis of comparison with the present survey of the field.

To what extent is educational sociology being utilized today in the training of educational workers, in order that they may be equipped with the ability to develop personalities that possess understandings, attitudes and skills necessary to a fuller realization of democratic values? As late as 1937 Snedden designated the relatively new field of educational sociology as "immature and unstandardized." What maturity and agreement are in evidence at the present time? An attempt is made in this article to answer

¹ George S. Herrington, *Educational Sociology as a Factor in the Training of Teachers*, Unpublished Doctor of Education dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1947.

² Harvey Lee, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, Colleges, and Universities* (New York: New York University Book Store, 1928).

these questions in the light of the data received from 239 institutions that returned questionnaires in the study cited. These questionnaires were sent to 449 normal schools, colleges, teachers colleges, and universities in the United States with teacher-training programs. The returns constitute 53 per cent of those sent, representing a 20 to 25 per cent sampling of all teacher-training institutions in the nation.

Required, partially required, and elective courses in educational sociology. Sixty-seven institutions, 28 per cent of the 239 returning questionnaires, offer a total of 143 required, partially required (optional within a general education or social-science requirement), and elective courses in educational sociology. The highest percentages of courses in the subject are reported for the far west, universities, public institutions, coeducational institutions, and institutions with student populations of 5,000 and over. Courses giving 3 semester units or 3 quarter units have the highest frequencies.

Required courses in educational sociology. Only 16 institutions, 6 per cent of those returning questionnaires, require courses in educational sociology. The highest frequencies found in connection with required courses in the subject are indicated by the far west and middle states, universities, coeducational institutions, public institutions, and institutions with student populations over 5,000.

Required general courses in education, including educational sociology in part. Ninety-four institutions indicate general courses in education which include educational sociology in part. Fifty-seven institutions offering these courses do not have courses in educational sociology. This number added to those that do give courses in the field makes a total of 124 institutions, or 51 per cent of the institutions replying in the study, which offer educational sociology in some degree to prospective educational workers. The highest percentages of general education courses containing edu-

cational sociology, in part, are reported in the northwest, normal schools, teacher colleges, institutions for men, public institutions, and institutions with student populations between 500 and 999. The largest number of these courses are indicated as containing 25 per cent educational sociology.

Major and/or minor study in educational sociology. Only five institutions reporting appear to have enough courses in educational sociology to warrant major and/or minor study in the subject for the degrees indicated. These five are Michigan State College, University of Chicago, Ohio State University, New York University, and Stanford University.

Trends noted in educational sociology. The most significant trend in educational sociology noted is the decline of 6 to 10 per cent in the percentage of institutions offering educational sociology since 1926. In reply to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?" Lee found that 194, or 38 per cent of the 505 institutions returning questionnaires in his study in 1926, offered such courses. He also found that only 15 per cent of the institutions returning questionnaires required courses in the field. In the present study only 67, or 28 per cent of the 239 institutions returning questionnaires, offer courses in educational sociology; and only 16, or 6 per cent, require a course in the subject.

A question arises, however, as to the comparability of these percentages. In the present study, 51 per cent of the institutions offer educational sociology in some degree to prospective educational workers if the number of institutions giving general education courses including educational sociology in part and not offering educational sociology courses as such is added to the 67 institutions that give courses in educational sociology. There is no evidence in Lee's study that replies were received which involved courses in education, except in answer to the question, "What topics of a sociological nature does your institution treat in

courses other than educational sociology?" The addition of this question in Lee's study undoubtedly tended to indicate to institutions that replies to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?" should not include courses which deal with the subject only in part. The assumption appears warranted, therefore, that the percentages, 38 and 28, are comparable; that they concern the percentages, respectively, of institutions in 1926 and at present offering courses in educational sociology as such.

A further question arises, however, concerning the comparability of these percentages. In the present study eleven institutions reporting 36 courses were not included in the tabulation because they did not appear to be courses in educational sociology. There is little question that these courses are not courses in the field; yet, what effect would the inclusion of the institutions have upon the 10 per cent decline noted? If 10 of these institutions are added to the 67 institutions giving courses in educational sociology, in as much as the eleventh institution is included in the latter figure, the percentage of institutions giving courses in the subject is 32. A decline of 6 per cent since 1926 rather than 10 per cent is then indicated. There is no evidence that Lee rejected any of the answers to the question, "Does your institution offer a course in educational sociology?"; or, that he received the replies in such form as to make such discrimination possible. It is probable, nevertheless, that some institutions may have reported having courses in educational sociology that were only educational sociology in part. In any event, it is not likely that the proportion of such courses was any greater than the proportion of courses rejected as educational sociology in this study.

In the light of these probabilities, it may be said, therefore, that the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology today as compared with the percentage giving such courses in 1926 has declined between 6 and 10 per cent. Viewed against

the fairly rapid expansion of courses in educational sociology from 1910 to 1926, the decline since the latter date is especially significant.

Since only two institutions of those not tabulated reported required courses, the percentage of institutions requiring courses in educational sociology today is approximately 6 or 7 per cent as compared to 15 per cent in 1926.

Although Lee did not include in his study any data concerning general education courses containing educational sociology in part, a trend since 1926 is suggested by the data in the present study. There may be a movement toward the integration of such courses as educational sociology, educational psychology, and the history and philosophy of education that would account for the decline in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology.

There is relatively little change to be noted today as compared to 1926 in the number of units given for courses in educational sociology.

Almost two thirds of the 36 institutions reporting on subject-matter prerequisites for required and partially required courses in educational sociology have no subject-matter prerequisites. In 1926 all of the courses were indicated by Lee as having some subject-matter prerequisites.

Present-day aims tend to be more specific in statement than those reported in 1926. Those concerned with understanding school-community relationships and the teacher's role in the community receive greater emphasis and more specific statement today. A greater emphasis is also to be noted upon an understanding of the role of the school as an instrument of social progress and of the meaning of democracy and its application to education.

Almost half of the topics taught in educational sociology courses today include reference to education, as compared to the 75 per cent in 1926 that could not be distinguished from sociology

topics. Although the wording of a topic does not determine the manner in which it is handled, it is probably good policy to word educational sociology topics in such a way that the application of social knowledge to education is suggested. A much greater emphasis is placed upon school-community relationships. Other topics receiving greater emphasis than comparable topics in 1926 are pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education; intercultural education; leisure, recreation, and education; health and education; crime, delinquency, and education; and occupational trends and their educational implications.

Of the 24 topics that instructors feel should be especially stressed in the next ten years, the 11 with the highest frequencies are in order: the community and the school; democracy and education; intercultural education; pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education; international education; education and the family; crime, delinquency, and education; leisure, recreation, and education; social and economic stratification and education; the social functions of the school; and population trends and their educational implications.

The five leading topics that instructors in courses in educational sociology feel should become the subjects of new course offerings in the next ten years are in terms of both order of choice and frequency: international education; intercultural education; education and the family; the community and the school; and pressure groups, public opinion, propaganda, and education.

The incidence of community research projects or surveys is considerably higher today than it was in 1926.

Lee's conclusion in 1926 that teachers of educational sociology indicated a greater amount of experience in education than in sociology is applicable today. Seventy per cent of instructors have majors in some field of education other than educational sociology. Only 51 per cent have a major or minor study for their highest degrees in sociology or educational sociology.

Since 1926 the percentage of instructors holding doctors' degrees as their highest degrees has doubled from 38 to 76 per cent.

There appears to be a greater unanimity of opinion among instructors of educational sociology today than there was in 1926 regarding the nature of educational sociology. Instructors, as revealed in this study, do not confuse definitions of the subject with aims or with other subjects of study as was indicated in Lee's investigation. Although the application of social knowledge to education receives major emphasis in both studies, the relationships between education and society receives greater emphasis at the present time. The application of social knowledge to education in order to improve society not only receives greater emphasis but more specific statement than the "social control" definitions in Lee's study imply.

Implications and recommendations. Although there has been a nationwide decline since 1926 in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology, the subject appears to have developed a greater measure maturity and evidence of agreement regarding the nature and functions in the field than was manifest in 1926.

The aims of courses in educational sociology have a greater degree of specificity. There is greater emphasis and agreement upon an understanding of the role of the school as an instrument of social progress, upon an understanding of the meaning of democracy and its application to education, and an understanding of, and participation in, school-community relationships. All three of these aims are interrelated and reflect the growing realization that an interdependent, dynamic society such as ours requires the extension of the range and quality of social interaction to the ends that social competence and democratic values may be increasingly achieved. Aims, however, stressing attitudes and competences as distinguished from those relating to understanding and knowledge appear to be slighted. This suggests that aims of courses in

educational sociology are too narrowly conceived and do not include all of the three categories in which aims may be classified; namely; understandings and knowledge, attitudes and appreciations, and skills and abilities.

The fact that almost half of the topics in present-day courses in educational sociology indicate some relationship to education as contrasted with the 75 per cent that could not be distinguished from sociology topics in 1926 is another bit of evidence suggesting a more refined view of the field. The greater major emphasis upon school-community relationships also reflects the growing realization that the school can and should be a center of community life, activity, and an institution which can be of service in co-operation with other agencies in contributing to community improvement. The increase in the number and proportion of community research projects or surveys is an indication of the trend to establish functional relationships in school-community interaction.

The fact that only 51 per cent of all instructors in educational sociology have a major or minor study in sociology or educational sociology is not conducive to the highest development of the field. However, adequately trained instructors in educational sociology cannot be secured if they are not demanded, and the potentialities of educational sociology as a significant factor in the training of teachers cannot be realized until such instructors are procured. It should be recognized, nevertheless, that some instructors through their work in related fields and interest in and study of sociology and educational sociology are making a real contribution to the teaching of, and research in, educational sociology in spite of the fact that their academic training has not been in sociology or educational sociology.

Have instructors been "saddled" with their courses in educational sociology? The fact that only half of them have either a major or minor study in either sociology or educational sociology

is an indication that this has been the case in many instances. Have institutional lag and myopic vision, with respect to the potentialities of educational sociology, been major factors in producing the present condition of educational sociology? Or, are there other factors involved?

A consideration of these questions leads to several suggestions for further research. There is a need for a study of the factors contributing to the decline in the percentage of institutions offering courses in educational sociology in 1946-1947 as compared to 1926. The importance of such a study is heightened by the fact that the period from 1910 to 1926 was one of considerable expansion and development in the field. Why have some institutions abandoned courses in educational sociology? What has prevented others from introducing such courses? What do these institutions substitute for courses in educational sociology? Is there a trend toward an integration of educational sociology, educational psychology, and other education subjects in general courses in education? In this connection, it is to be remembered that 51 per cent of all institutions offer some educational sociology if institutions with general education courses including educational sociology in part are added to those institutions that give courses in the subject.

Another suggestion for further research in view of the decline and the fact that sociology is required in some teacher-training programs is an investigation of the extent to which sociology is required and partially required of prospective educational workers in those institutions which offer no educational sociology, and the extent to which the instructors of such courses apply the subject to education and deal with its educational implications. Are instructors of sociology any better prepared in terms of academic training in education than instructors of educational sociology are in sociology? Such a study should help to determine whether or not the decline in educational sociology has been accompanied by

an expansion in sociology as a required or partially required field for educational workers.

To what extent has educational sociology become a significant factor in the training of teachers? This is the major question posed in this study. Educational sociology has not become as significant a factor in the training of educational workers as it should be; especially, if one full course in educational sociology is accepted as a basic minimum in any teacher training program.

Forty-nine per cent of teacher-training institutions do not offer courses in this field, nor do they include the subject as part of a general course in education. Only 28 to 32 per cent of the institutions offer at least one course in educational sociology. Only 6 or 7 per cent of the institutions require it of prospective educational workers. In spite of the fact that 69 per cent of the institutions over 5,000, representing 12 per cent of the institutions reporting, have courses in educational sociology and train proportionately more teachers than institutions in other size groups, the conclusion is justified that the social aspects of learning are not receiving adequate attention in the professional training of teachers as far as educational sociology is concerned. Only a study of the significance of sociology in the training of teachers will indicate to what extent it is meeting the need.

Educational sociologists must provide for the social aspects of learning in the training of educational workers whether they do so as members of the sociology department or as members of the education department. An educational sociologist should be one who is adequately trained in both sociology and education. One without the other is more likely to produce an educationist or a sociologist rather than an educational sociologist.

Educational sociology and educational psychology should constitute twin bases for teacher training. They are basic because they deal respectively with the fundamental social and individual factors involved in personality development. Although they overlap

in the social psychology of education, each has its "fundamental" and "important" contribution to make in the training of teachers. They are distinct and "complementary."

In our highly dynamic, interdependent society, growing out of industrialism with its increasing specialization of function, social competence is greatly needed. The school must help to create such competence if it is to be a significant factor in improving our society. Educational sociologists, adequately trained in both education and sociology, can help to produce educational workers who are capable of such a task.

The primary aim that all educators as well as educational sociologists may set for themselves, if education is to become a significant factor in the maintenance and improvement of our society, is this: To extend the range and quality of social interaction within and without the school at all age levels so there may be a continuously greater realization of democratic values in all areas of living and on all community levels. Such a conception of education requires for its progressive attainment a greater use of the potentialities of educational sociology than is now manifest in the training of educational workers in the normal schools, colleges, teachers colleges, and universities of the United States.

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THE ENGLISH TEACHER AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

Edward L. Anderson

Educators and leading laymen of many countries are currently much concerned with something called "the improvement of intercultural relations." This is by no means a new interest dating from the end of the Second World War, but the aims and programs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization have made for an increased awareness of the general problem of intercultural relations, and a more active desire to do something to improve them. Let us first seek a clear understanding of what the term "intercultural relations" means, and then ask ourselves what makes for "bad" or unsatisfactory intercultural relations. Then, perhaps, we can suggest a program for the English teacher to follow, or at least a set of guiding principles, in his attempt to improve such relations.

The term "intercultural relations" would appear to embrace at least three kinds of social relationships. First, there are the relationships between groups of different racial or national backgrounds, whites and Negroes, Chinese and Jews, Italians and Germans. The term "national" is to be preferred here to "racial," as modern science has demonstrated quite successfully the gross fallacies of our older nations concerning "race" and "blood." With the possible exception of some primitive culture groups in certain parts of the world, there do not exist anywhere among so-called civilized peoples any group which are "racially pure," so extensive have been the processes of immigration and interbreeding. Second, there are the relationships between groups adhering to different religious beliefs. These differences frequently occur between groups who function together in larger national or political groups. Third, there are the relationships between different socio-economic groups, that is, between groups which in our

society form quite distinct social communities on the basis of differences in their incomes, occupations, and educations.

What makes for tension in any such intercultural relations? Let us examine an actual instance of such tension. In the summer of 1943 there was what the press called a "race riot" involving Negroes and whites in Detroit, Michigan. After several days of street fights, thirty-odd persons, chiefly Negroes, had been killed, several hundred injured, and windows had been smashed in hundreds of stores and houses in both white and Negro neighborhoods. Order was restored only after a detachment of the United States Army had been sent into the city to aid the local police.

I believe that there is probably a complex of causes, rather than a single cause, for every particular case of tension between groups. There are, however, some factors which appear to play their parts in many of these cases, whether they result in violent eruption of the kind just noted or not. First, it seems that a good many inter-group tensions have their seed beds in an old and widespread tendency of human behavior, namely, the need of the individual to feel himself a "belonging" member of a "we-group," and his willingness to accept uncritically the opinions and attitudes of his group toward "they-groups" or "out-groups" in order to maintain his own status. Second, this need and this willingness make for a perpetuation of ignorance and erroneous "knowledge" about what the members of out-groups are like, and for the continued acceptance of stereotypes. Third, socio-economic competition between groups may make for the acceptance of unfavorable stereotypes and a shutting of the mind to new or corrected facts about the out-group.

I believe that the third factor mentioned, socio-economic competition (for example, that existing between poor whites and Negroes in certain places in the United States), is one about which the teacher can, as an individual, do very little. I do not think the teacher, English teacher or otherwise, can do very much to alter

the first factor—the tendency on the part of the individual, to accept the opinions and attitudes of his own we-group. What, then, *can* the teacher do? It would appear that the teacher must concentrate his efforts on the second of the three factors, namely, on the elimination of the ignorance and erroneous “knowledge” about what the members of out-groups are like and on the correction of the previously accepted stereotypes. If this is so, how can the English teacher, in particular, move toward such elimination and correction? It is with this question that we will be concerned.

English teachers can build a reading program based on the literatures drawn from or dealing with the different backgrounds of the students who make up their school population. I will not attempt here to offer suggested reading lists but, instead, will state what I consider to be an important criterion for the selection of such literature. Let us suppose a school situation in which white and Negro students are associated and in which some of the white students fear, distrust, or otherwise dislike the Negroes. What kind of reading can the white students be encouraged to do to help eradicate this dislike, particularly when it is based on ignorance or on faulty stereotypes concerning Negroes? Certainly literature which fortifies existing stereotypes of the Negro as childlike, eternally adolescent, lazy, unreliable, or, worse yet, as criminally inclined, is to be avoided. The reading of books and short stories about Negroes of the Octavus Roy Cohen type, in which they are represented as being fond of gaudy pretentiousness, addicted to scheming dishonesty, and afflicted (as in the case of Florian Slap-*pey*) with a congenital aversion to honest labor, is not calculated to eliminate these stereotypes. Marc Connelly's *The Green Pastures*, although it is a quite charming fantasy, intensifies the conception of Negroes as intellectually and emotionally childlike. (One may well ask whether the role of “de Lawd” in this play as a prosperous, fatherly Negro who smokes ten-cent “ceegars” is any more anthropomorphic than some widely held notions about

the nature of the Deity still current among some otherwise sophisticated white people.) Again, stories of the Joel Chandler Harris *Uncle Remus* variety picture the Negro as fairly reveling in a subservient status. Although scarce by comparison with what we may call "stereotype literature" about the Negroes, it is still possible to find literature which presents them as quite normal human beings, faced with the same basic problems of existence as other human beings, and behaving in general as other human beings do, or would do, in similar situations. Richard Wright's *Black Boy* records the struggles of a sensitive, intelligent Negro boy to achieve and to maintain the status of a free, self-respecting man in a society, both Negro and white, which seemed bent on "keeping him in his place." *Mrs. Palmer's Honey* by Fannie Cook tells a similar story about a Negro girl. And, of course, Wright's *Native Son* is excellent as the story of a young Negro trapped by the criminal stereotype of the Negro held by a large part of the society about him.

Let English teachers, then, stimulate their students to reading and discussion of literature about minority or special culture groups, which avoids centering its emphasis on faulty stereotypes, faulty in the sense that traits possessed perhaps by some, are attributed to the majority, and which does present the members of such groups as human beings with the same tendencies, hopes, fears, and problems that characterize the rest of the human race, or at least a sizable portion of it. The word "discussion" in the preceding sentence is important. I believe that merely preparing lists of such "culturally realistic" literature (as opposed to "stereotype" literature), making such reading available, and perhaps encouraging the actual reading of it by requiring written or oral book reports, is not enough. A good English teacher, aware of the desirability of correcting the erroneous conceptions about certain groups of people held by some of his students, can conduct classroom discussion of this better kind of literature in which its

greater honesty and insight can be profitably contrasted with the easy typing of people so characteristic of the other sort. The teacher needs tact and good common sense to conduct such discussion without hurting some students' feelings or subjecting them to embarrassment. He can stimulate the students to identify the stereotypes they hold, to ask themselves the reasons for, and the sources of, these stereotypes, and finally to correct them in the light of what they have read and heard discussed in class.

There is another phase of the work in the English class which the English teacher can utilize for the furtherance of better intercultural relations. This is the general area of the group project and individual report work. Teachers who want ideas on how effectively this phase of English teaching can be handled would do well to read *English for Social Living* by Gordon, Kaulfers, and Kefauver (Stanford University Press) in which a number of teachers on the junior-high, senior-high, and junior-college levels present accounts of class activity programs. Here again, I am not undertaking to offer suggestions for specific programs or activities, but rather to indicate a general principle to follow in the conduct of such activities.

The English teacher should avoid assigning a task to a student from a minority group which that student is incapable of performing with reasonable competence, or in the performance of which the student will be made to appear ineffective, unsuccessful, or "funny" to his classmates. If a girl from a "foreign" background reads aloud poorly and with a marked accent, she should not be required to read papers or make oral reports before the class, until or unless the teacher can bring her reading and speech habits up to an acceptable level for that particular group. The same girl may have artistic talent which, if called upon instead, may emphasize her as highly competent in the eyes of her fellow students. A shy, awkward boy from another minority group may make himself, *and others of his group*, "inferior" in the opinion

of his fellows if called upon for individual performance. The same boy may be very apt, however, at gathering data from reading or observation and in writing them up in a good piece of written English. Let this boy do *that*, and the teacher or another student present the report to the class.

I do not cherish the hope that the problem of intercultural relationships is going to be solved, and the millennium attained overnight, if every English teacher seeks for "culturally realistic" literature for reading and class discussion and pays due consideration to his students' aptitudes and personality problems, however, I do believe that these are intelligent procedures which, carried out by a host of individual teachers, can have some cumulative effect on the improvement of intergroup relations in the English classes of our schools.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly, September-May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1,

1946
State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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TAKE THEM OUT OF THEIR PROTECTIONS

James H. Hanscom

Ashamed of his animal kinship, seeking proofs of his denial of it, man has arrogated to himself the qualities of wisdom, of forethought, and of pity. The first of these can be dismissed as naïveté or humor, if one is tolerant, or as ignorant pomposity, if one is realistic. The second claim to unique status can be deflated by any squirrel chattering in its cache of acorns laid aside for winter. Allowing the third claim to pre-eminence, we are faced with a truth which takes on the character of a singularly by perverse and grim jest by nature at man's expense. This attribute, by which finite beings try to emulate the Infinite, and human beings seek to ape their concept of the Divine, which distinguishes the philanthrope from the anthropoid, and anima from animal, may prove the ultimate undoing of those who exercise it.

It moves under many names and in many guises. It is the "Mercy above the sceptered sway" with which Portia sought to persuade Shylock to void his contractual claims. It is the Petrine dream of assuaging the hunger of the Gentiles, and the Pauline "Charity" clanging louder in the carillon, than Faith or Hope. It is the gentle sentiment which, flowering in the Christmas seal, breathes a saving breath into tortured lungs, and in another season marches with dimes to the surcease of the halt and lame. It is born of that most vital biological instinct, which demands that the species survive though the individual perish. To criticise its workings is to arouse angry prejudice and violent emotional opposition, but the fact remains that when improperly expressed as "over-protectiveness" it frustrates the very purposes for which it is used.

To ask whether the virtue of this many-named protectiveness lies within the act or in the consequences of action may seem to be raising a purely academic question, better suited to the idle discussion of retired philosophers than of "practical" people. Cer-

tainly society at large has not waited upon the query, but has leaped to its own emotional conclusion that the virtue lies in the act itself, that kindness is in the doing and not in what results from the doing. It is just this doubtful decision which causes a noble aspiration to become a peril, especially to those in whose behalf it is exercised. Used by statesmen, nations are the sufferers; applied by parents and teachers, the next generation is penalized.

Resultant from the application of this philosophical conclusion are prolongation of life for the incurably ill and the hopelessly insane, and maintenance of economically underprivileged people within the borders of starvation. When the thawing Appalachians pour their annual torrents over the levees of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the homeless are succored in their flight from the drowned bottomlands, in order that they may resume their homes in time for next year's deluge. When the desert leaps on the wings of the wind, to descend upon a widening dust bowl, the exiled are aided, to survive for the misery of the fruit circuits and the despair of flight in jaloppies along the migrant agricultural workers' route, one feeble gasp ahead of hunger, the sheriff, and a ditch-side grave. Society is righteous in its original mercy to the endless continuation of agony and want.

Man's tendency to respond quickly to an appeal for sympathy may well be a major cause of his survival as a species; by combining his frailties he may have woven the slim strength by which his breed clung to existence through the long eons of geologic time. Wishing to simplify the complexities of living, it is easier to avoid the whole philosophic problem as to whether a good is eternally so, whether an act virtuous in one time and place is equally so in all times and places. If to stretch the protecting hand caused Neanderthal man to survive, then how equally true must it be for modern man. This is to oversimplify a problem, to evade thought. But it is often easier to so oversimplify, it is less trouble to lift conclusions from the area of human physical survival and

apply them to distant problems such as those of child education.

In pitiful zeal (pitiful in more than one sense) we have extended the idea of protection beyond shielding children from physical harm to sheltering them from mental exercise as well. Misguided by emotional impulse, many of us hold that the Democratic Road to Learning must be smoother than the famed Royal Road, which an elder and sterner generation held nonexistent. From kindergarten through college, learning must present no real challenge, no honest difficulty, else the learner resent the need for effort, rebel at hard work, and prompt the parent-voter to demand in wrath at the next town meeting, "Why can't our schools be 'progressive'?"

An age which believes that it can get the vital quality of food from a diet which is premasticated and predigested, and amplified by a vitamin pill, is too often rearing students (so-called) who expect to swallow capsules of education, and acquire wisdom and knowledge from the regurgitations of some "expert." The molars and digestion of modern man demonstrate the inexorable toll which nature takes from those who avoid meeting the former type of challenge; the intellectual ineptitude and subsequent civic and political decay, which must accompany the latter, are equally evident to those who dare or wish to see.

Whether progressive or retrogressive, creation is on the move. Searching for the static through stellar space beyond time, or seeking it within temporal mundane matter, nowhere do we find stability and peace to please the hierophants of the status quo. That which ceases to fight its own way upstream is whirled on the river's way downstream. Even such an epitome of changelessness as the village cemetery is busy with crumbling, be it stone above or bone below. And in a universe where standing pat is impossible, the minds of children must either move forward or fall backward into an infancy intolerable in the light of wasted potentialities. If then the choice is not whether to move or to remain, but

whether to progress or to retrogress, the manner in which progress becomes possible has significance for us and for those whose mental future we hold in trust.

Progress is achieved by overcoming a challenge which demands more than can be given without effort or struggle. To build better biceps, weights and strains must be attempted which will weary the muscles in their existing condition. To build immunity to smallpox, the body must be challenged by inoculation with enough of the disease to be alien to its nature and incompatible with its inner ease and comfort. Turning from the body to the mind we recall George Catlin in his *Story of the Political Philosophers*, "the use of intelligence is not natural to man but very unnatural, due to pain and some breakdown in a happy, indolent social equilibrium. Mind itself is a painful, disease-like product of the struggle for survival."

The relationship between human crisis and achievement is causal rather than casual. Biology and anthropology textbooks have long listed side by side the climatic changes in the earth's past and the possible evolution of man, the parallelism showing probable dates of human development. What is not clearly indicated is that one is the cause of the other. The change from Dryopithecus, the ape, to Pithecanthropus, the ape-man, occurred when glaciation altered the world which the forest ape had known. Those of his kind who stuck to the status quo presumably froze to death, at least they ceased to exist. Those who attempted the limited and relatively easy adjustment of changing their geographic location developed as a result of their effort into the progenitors of the great apes of today, the gibbon, the orangutan, the gorilla, and the chimpanzee. But those among the forest apes who met the threat of extinction without running away, but by utilizing all the determination and ingenuity which they possessed, emerged from the struggle not only successful in surviving, but with all their capabilities supplemented and increased. A

larger brain and the power of speech were among the rewards for meeting a challenge successfully. With each succeeding glacial period through the Pleistocene, we find those, who met each consecutive testing, emerging higher in the scale of humanness, Eoanthropus gives place to Neanderthal man who is followed by Cro-Magnon man and at last by modern men.

It is to be noted that this progress has involved, first, a challenge serious enough to overcome lethargy, to threaten great discomfort if not extinction, second, a willingness to meet the challenge without running away, and, third, possession and use of enough ingenuity to devise ways and means out of the dilemma. The first requisite we have always with us, challenges which are physical, social, mental, moral, political, economic, or whatever, rising out of our solutions to past problems. The third we are helpless to change, unless the day arrives when science knows how to alter innate ability in human beings. The second is the area in which we can hope to train children effectively, if we wish. One can be taught by meeting challenges to face others as they arise.

What we have illustrated in the realm of anthropology can be redemonstrated by countless examples in the history of nations. An excellent example is that discussed by the author of *A Study of History*. Arnold Toynbee points out that the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures became dynamic and started on their way to civilization through the threat of extinction, which the dessication of North Africa and Asia Minor posed to the natives of the Mediterranean borderlands. In meeting the challenge of drought, and in plunging into swamp areas for water, social, political, and economic systems had to be devised which resulted not only in survival but in the formidable progress which made Egypt and Babylonia milestones of human progress. Nature's response to the effort displayed by man was to give him strength and ability to survive, plus additional power beyond the needs of the moment. This *plus* constituted progress.

To choose a later example, one bearing directly upon the history of America, when the tiny Christian kingdoms of Leon, Aragon, and Castille finally girded themselves, after centuries of sloth, to meet the threat of extinction posed by Moorish dominance of the Iberian peninsula, the result was not only the expulsion of the Moslem from Granada, which represented the solution of the initial challenge, but an overflow of energy which carried the Castillian crown and Christian cross around the globe. Spanish culture was sown from California to Patagonia, from the Argentine to the Philippines, and the grandson of Fernando and Ysabel was raised to the hegemony of Europe. This was a *plus* indeed!

American national history is prolific with similar illustrations. Considered at any given time, how unimportant would the men of the frontier, wherever it might be, appear, if weighed in the scale of national significance against the inhabitants of the settled and developed sections of the country, with their political skill and economic achievements. But, in meeting the greater challenge of the frontier, where hunger and disease prevailed, and the savage, the lawless, and nature in all her malevolent ingenuity prowled, the pioneers and sons of pioneers accumulated an energy, courage, and vision plus that has tipped the scales often and again to the renown of the Jeffersons and Jacksons, the Clays and Calhouns, the Lincolns and Bryans, and their kin and kind.

In a later time, when the challenge of the lost frontier has given way to the challenges of an urbanized, industrialized century, note that names still arise to signalize victory. Sickliness threatens Theodore Roosevelt, paralysis strikes at Franklin Roosevelt, deafness closes around Thomas Edison, poverty around Alfred Smith, pigmentation of skin forbids achievement to George Washington Carver. It is glib to say that these and others like them represent examples of overcompensation, and so dismiss the matter. To do so is to ignore the very root of a philosophy of education. Overcompensations are the reward, the *plus* granted by nature to those

who refuse to go down without a struggle before any challenge. Only by challenging effectively can we cause overcompensation, only by causing it can we force the challenged to progress; only by progress so achieved will our children grow out of childhood mentally as well as physically; only by so growing will we lose the adolescent and eternal sophomores who blow tin horns at conventions of the American middle-aged.

All teachers are familiar with the old saw, that the "best way to learn a subject is to teach it." The challenge of the need to clarify material for someone else forces one to clarify it for himself. This is another way of saying that the teacher profits more from teaching than does the student from being taught. This may be desirable for the instructor, but the school was not set up for him. What of the student, what of the child who appeals to those deepest instincts of ours to protect and defend and make secure? How can we be kind and still make learning tough enough to be effective? How can we deliberately create a challenge and then stand back and watch a struggle? By rejecting the whole false notion that kindness lies only in doing; by realizing that it is the results of our doing which must be found desirable. The circumstances that flung Walter Scott into poverty were unkind, unjust perhaps, but the world of letters was richer in the end, and Scott was the wealthier in intellectual skill and achievement as well as in pocket. English social injustice was, to understate, unpleasant, and the reactions of Charles Dickens to it were neither pleasant nor tolerable to him, but the result has been a loftier concept of human dignity and worth, extending into lands where the tongue of Dickens is not understood but his indignation is. Death stood behind John Keats, and heartbreak beside Sara Teasdale, but could we wish it otherwise, if to do so would mean the loss to us of the songs they sang, and to them the singing?

To focus on the ends we seek may mean to sacrifice the plaudits of sycophantic pupils and parents. The respect earned in retrospect will be the greater.

This very problem is in itself a challenge to us, the outcome of which will be the more desirable with the greater difficulty overcome. It is not easy to insist on student achievement when we could do the work for them more quickly and accurately, to watch them blunder into errors in order that they may grow in the blundering, when a word from us could save them both the blunder and the growth. If we wish our children to achieve maturity of mind and body, to attain moral and spiritual stature consistent with our hope that their lives will be richer than our own, we must stop smoothing out the paths, we must cease making our schools into temples of "Lazy-Faire!"

On a global scale the threat of atomic catastrophe challenges the nations to solve international chaos. On a national level the threat of recurring depressions bids the people clean their economic house. In our cities the specter of disease dictates the clearance of the slums. These problems have come upon us without our consent. But in the classroom we are free. Challenges to thinking and doing can be introduced, if we wish. If we choose otherwise, then we underwrite, with the approval of silent acceptance, the current American situation, tacitly recognized when we call a club of forty-year-old females, "The Girls," and a smoker of paunchy heavies, "The Boys."

A century ago Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote, "He who is to be wise for many must not be protected. . . ." 'Tis a fatal disadvantage to be cockered and to eat too much cake. What tests of manhood could he stand? Take him out of his protections." This thought, expressed as regards the few, is applicable to the many. Let it not be the destiny of our children to come, spineless and vegetable, from scholastic hot-houses. Let it not be ours to release one day, into a ruthless world, a cotton-wool generation.

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SOME NEWER METHODS OF TEACHING SOCIOLOGY*

David M. Fulcomer

From many corners have come complaints that colleges and universities have failed and are failing to prepare their students for constructive living in our day. That such accusations are made is sad. But worse still is the realization that they are formulated with considerable basis in fact. And it is the belief of many of us that outmoded teaching methods are, to a large extent, responsible.

It is quite evident that we sociologists are no exception to the rule. One does find inadequacy in the most unsuspected corners. Most of us use some form of the lecture-quiz section method. Our students file in to hear us talk and listen mostly for those things which they are afraid we shall expect them to remember in the next examination. Perhaps they meet in a quiz section once a week where a graduate student, who has little time to spare from his own degree work and thus cannot get much interested in his quiz section, has charge. Then, too, we usually require a term paper which most students write (if they cannot buy one) in one or two evenings by the simple procedure of copying passages out of several books. Not many of them can remember even the table of contents one week after the paper is submitted. However, this paper may count as much as one third of the course. If a book review is required, that is not so bad because usually the student can secure one already written or copy one out of a periodical such as *The Book Review Digest*. The final examination is just an unpleasant experience of cramming the night before. In the smaller colleges conditions are sometimes worse, sometimes better. Usually, however, class discussions are a boring rehash of the text and the lectures are of an ancient vintage.

It would seem, then, that in both large and small educational institutions the dominant three-way procedure for the student is:

* This article is based in part upon a paper presented to the American Sociological Society at its annual meeting in Chicago in December 1946.

copy, memorize, and cram. True, many college and university classes are not as poor as the picture just painted. But the sad thing is that many *are* that bad and very few can be placed with fairness at the other end of the teaching scale. Here, then, is a very serious situation.

The original awareness of the need for better methods of teaching sociology is a difficult thing to discover and trace. Certainly such men as J. Elbert Cutler,¹ Edward C. Hayes,² and Thomas J. Riley² spoke out in the early days of this century. Some years later L. L. Bernard presented a paper to the Missouri Sociological Society in St. Louis (on April 15, 1931) in which he discussed the use of what he called "direct-contact materials." In this paper he lists and briefly discusses field study, museum materials, project studies, local surveys, experiments and demonstrations, firsthand accounts of observations and experiences, life histories, autobiography and biography, the motion picture, the radio, newspapers, the reading of dramas and novels, having students dramatize parts of the course and requiring students to construct inductively their own syllabi, outlines, or texts for the course.³ It will be recalled, too, that Cooley stressed the point that society is essentially dramatic. Surely most of us have neglected this fact in our teaching.

At this point it may be well to emphasize that teaching methods have to vary with the personalities, aptitudes, and facilities present in any given teaching situation. And it will be wise, too, to stress that there are advantages and disadvantages in any method. A technique is only a tool for teaching.

Let us turn now to specific plans, methods, and techniques.

¹ See the discussion of a paper by Charles A. Ellwood on "How Should Sociology Be Taught as a College or University Subject?," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XII (March, 1907), 604.

² See their remarks made in a discussion of a paper by James Q. Dealey on "The Teaching of Sociology" in *The American Journal of Sociology*, XV (March, 1910), 657-667.

³ L. L. Bernard, "To What Extent Could and Should the First College Course in Sociology Make Use of Direct-Contact Materials?," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (January, 1933), 272-277.

What about lectures? How many of us speak in an interesting and pleasant manner? Do clarity and vigor mark our organization and presentation of materials? Do we use such things as motion pictures, graphs, charts, maps, pictures, cartoons, and the like whenever possible? Do we see to it that the classroom is as comfortable as possible? These and many other questions may be raised. Small matters? They are not, though they may seem so at first.

What, then, is being done to improve the teaching of sociology? First let us comment upon the De Pauw Social (or "sociological") Museum. Vreeland reports that in its broadest sense the museum is a collection of graphic materials, illustrative of sociological facts and principles, organized for teaching purposes. He points out that it has well-organized visual aids together with facilities for their exhibition, construction, and storage. And speaking further about the museum he says:

. . . . It represents an attempt to co-ordinate a wide variety of visual materials such as maps, charts, photographs, slides, moving pictures, dioramas, transparencies, models, primitive artifacts, and various objects of contemporary culture. Its physical facilities include a workshop, a storeroom, and office, and several exhibit rooms. One of the exhibit rooms is equipped with chairs, blackboard, and projection lantern for class use. The other rooms are supplied with reading tables, pamphlet and magazine racks, exhibit cases, swinging panels for charts, and several types of electrical devices for the automatic exhibition of pictures and charts.

The exhibits fall into two categories according to their use. There are items which are designed to be used on the same basis as regular textbook assignments, and there are other materials which are intended only for background information. One of the large problems of the museum is that of so designing and balancing materials that they may serve their specific purpose.⁴

The "project-research" is another method used in teaching sociology. Katona says that it can be used to great educational advantage on the college level and that it is one of the *musts* on any pro-

⁴ Francis M. Vreeland, "The Teaching Uses of a Sociology Museum," *American Sociological Review*, III (February, 1938), 33.

gram intending to vitalize college education. He gives an example of one such project-research—a study of race relations in a northern town—in a recent article.⁵ Projects for individual students are valuable, also. These should direct the student to close observational and analytical grips with the social world about him.

Some teachers have made excellent use of guest speakers. This, like all other methods, must be used with caution. It is important that the speakers appear at the proper time so as to fit in with the subject under study. They should be given a definite topic. Sometimes good lay persons will not agree to give a speech; in that case let them act as part of a discussion.

Attention should be called at this point to the contribution made by Howell and Meadows in the *Students' Manual for Introductory Sociology*.⁶ Here is an attempt to help the student relate his study of sociology to his own life and experiences. In this manual projects for students are carefully arranged and developed. How many of us have made a serious attempt to use this manual? It is so easy to decide against adopting anything new because at first we would be required to revise our teaching methods. It would be interesting to know how many instructors are using this manual or an adaptation of it at the present time.

Much could be written on the use of motion pictures, radios, and sound in teaching sociology. But it might be more effective to raise this question: how many of us have made any attempt to investigate these mediums of communication to see if we could adopt them and thereby improve our teaching? The possibilities of the motion picture, are, of course, tremendous. Radio is more limited in its educational possibilities, but we could make good use of news broadcasts, speeches, commentaries, discussions, music, and the like. And, as for phonographs, recordings of music,

⁵ Arthur Katona, "Project-Research: A Survey of Race Relations in a Northern Town," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XX (November, 1946), 129-139.

⁶ Charles E. Howell, and Paul Meadows, *Students' Manual for Introductory Sociology*, (New York: American Book Company, 1939.)

dances, folk songs, etc., would aid in presenting the culture of a group.

Katona has made some interesting suggestions in regard to the use of murals. In 1943 he reported the use of one, the names of others forthcoming, and the names of others being planned.⁷ This technique is not as available to most of us as others we have considered; but some of us could develop even this method.

It would be good to know how many other teachers are using special techniques to improve their teaching. No doubt there are many. Undoubtedly many are doing a first class teaching job in such a quiet manner that the rest of us do not hear about it. I am reminded of the practice of Professor William Bailey of Northwestern University who has his students work with "live data" and who makes much use of charts and pictures. At this point it might be well to call attention to important new programs which are being adopted in our better institutions such as the new Dartmouth course titled "Great Issues" required of all seniors,⁸ and the emphasis placed upon "collateral studies" at Vassar.⁹

So far little has been said about attempts to help students to learn sociology by having them participate in community life and study its characteristics. One of the stresses of the new Vassar program is just that. This writer was much interested in a recent statement by President Conant of Harvard when he said, "... To my mind a scholar's activities should have relevance to the immediate future of our civilization."¹⁰

Let us remind ourselves again that the essence of sociology is to be found in people and how they behave. This is obvious enough and every sociologist no doubt agrees to it. But, as Katona says, "... After duly paying lip service, we make books and papers the stuff of sociology. . . . And seldom do we provide connecting

⁷ See the communication on "The Sociology Murals" in the *American Sociological Review*, VIII (February, 1943), 87-88.

⁸ See *The New York Times*, July 6, 1947 (educational section).

⁹ See *The New York Times*, June 15, 1947 (educational section).

¹⁰ Quoted in *Time*, September 23, 1946, p. 53.

links between the books and the people they deal with. To put it bluntly, we tend to study verbalisms, not people. . . ."¹¹

Some real attempts have been made to use the community as a teaching laboratory. There have been programs to make widespread use of community projects in teacher education. Some experimental programs have been set up such as the one at Central State Teachers College at Mount Pleasant, Michigan.¹² And of the field course on "Southern Conditions" sponsored in the summer of 1939 (and later) by Teachers College of Columbia University in co-operation with The Open Road, Gordon Blackwell says:

. . . . Experiences which are "lived" rather than merely "read" may be more fully understood and remembered longer. Moreover, skill in sociological analysis should be acquired which can be used by the individual in his profession or in everyday life as a citizen in a democracy. . . .¹³

(Most of the students on this project are on the graduate level; but there is no reason why the principle would not apply to undergraduates.)

Dr. Blackwell also reports on Furman University's program of community analysis and development and its values to the students. He indicates that the probability is that these students will leave college more eager and better able to assume their share of the responsibilities which democracy places on the local community.¹⁴

There are other institutions of higher learning where interesting and progressive work is being done. We shall mention just a few of them. *The New York Times* for January 15, 1939, carried a story on how sociology students at Elmira College were studying

¹¹ Katona, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹² Florence Greenhoe, "Contribution of Community Sociology to Teacher Training," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XIII (April, 1940), 464.

¹³ Gordon W. Blackwell, "Sociology Analysis Through Field Course Procedure," *Social Forces*, XII (March, 1941), 364-365.

¹⁴ Gordon W. Blackwell, "The College in Relation to Community Analysis and Development," *Social Forces*, XX (October, 1941), 70-76. See also the report on the Furman University program in *The New York Times*, February 10, 1941.

the city of Elmira in connection with the course on community organization. The same paper on April 2, 1939, carried a story of how Bennington College girls were studying the town of Bennington. And recently it has been reported that sociology students at Wilson College are co-operating with the Pennsylvania Department of Health in its Child Health Conference program as their major 1946-1947 field-work project.¹⁵

Reference should be made here to the interesting program of "learning from the community" under the direction of Evelyn R. Hodgdon at State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. Also, the excellent work relating community and teaching being done at Michigan State College under Troy L. Stearns should be emphasized. Further attention should be called to a recent article which gives details of a continuing project in social studies involving both schools and neighborhood councils.¹⁶

I have developed what I call the "community-laboratory technique" which is used in selected sociology courses. Treatment of this method will be brief here. It is a plan to have students spend part of each week in nearby social agencies, trying out their classroom theories under everyday conditions. It is based on the belief that subjects so intimately linked with people's lives cannot be studied in a vacuum or out of books alone, especially by young students whose experiences so far have been centered largely within their own primary groups. Therefore, classroom study is paralleled by and illustrated with continuous firsthand observations outside the college, under trained agency directors.

At the beginning of the term each student is assigned to one of the co-operating community agencies and placed under the direction of an experienced worker at the agency who knows the aims of the program and the content of the student's college course. The students make monthly and semester reports to the instructor

¹⁵ See *The New York Times*, December 15, 1946.

¹⁶ Letty Teeford, and Jane Stewart, "The Neighborhood Is Our Classroom," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XX (January, 1947), 281-286.

and the agency directors do also, rating the students on their participation, alert interest, and other items. *All* students in these courses work under this plan; it is definitely not aimed at the sociology major but rather at the student who may take only one such course. One aim is to integrate the subject matter of the course with actual life situations as the student observes them. Another aim is to help make the liberal-arts education a direct and vital preparation for life, to equip future professional people, businessmen, and housewives for a rational, understanding approach to the complex problems of society.

Success of this "community-laboratory technique" is hard to measure accurately as yet, but many favorable comments coming from former students after course grades are in (sometimes coming months later from students graduated) indicate that students feel that this type of education is very much worth-while. Study and improvement of this teaching method is continuing.

Thus we have given here just a glimpse of the need for and development of newer methods of teaching sociology. It is encouraging to learn that various studies are being made in regard to the improvement of teaching methods. (See the report of research studies under the title "Educational Sociology" in the August 1946 issue of *The American Sociological Review*.) The reader interested in this subject will certainly enjoy and find stimulating Herbert D. Lamson's recent article, "Evaluation of Sociology Teaching."¹⁷ And attention should be called to an article by H. C. Brearley on teaching sociology which is to appear in the fall of 1947 in a bulletin titled, "Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges," to be issued by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Also, anyone investigating this problem ought to read Katona's 1943 article which is, in my estimation, a provocative statement of the problem.¹⁸

¹⁷ In *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXI, No. 6 (July-August, 1947), 429-434.

¹⁸ Arthur Katona, "The Teaching of Sociology in a Democracy," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (August, 1943), 439-447.

In closing this brief discussion it should be made clear that these newer methods are not presented here to give the impression that they are intended to be substitutes for the content of any course. Quite the contrary, they are intended merely as supplementary aids. And it should be stressed, too, that the adoption of any new method involves its "growing pains." Most of them require more equipment, more teaching time, and more money. Some of us are experiencing the necessity of "selling" our own administrations and colleagues. (Even when they are already favorable, as in my case, they are often limited in the speed with which they can grant us additional funds, equipment, and personnel.) But perhaps the surest way to increase the resources available for the teaching of sociology is to develop better methods which will make their own appeal for support. Some of us are now at the "in-between stage" which is very difficult. But few things worth achieving come easily.

Also, it should be made clear that it is not contended that any of the newer methods will stimulate *all* students. The claim is made, however, that many of the newer techniques will stimulate *more* of the students *more* often than do the older methods. Please note the alternatives. The choice before us seems clear. Are we doing all that we can to make our courses vital and worth-while to the student?

It is easy to find fault with any method, especially a new one. And all too often this is used as an excuse for doing nothing to improve our teaching. Do we really believe that education ought to be student-centered? If so, most of us need to make many improvements in our teaching methods. If not, we should leave teaching to hands and minds better suited for that opportunity.

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THE CAMPUS CLIQUE AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIALIZATION

Orden Smucker

Sociologists have given extensive theoretical recognition to the function of various primary groupings in the socialization process. Relatively little attention has been given to the significant socializing influence of the small, spontaneous, and intimate subgroups of the college campus culture.

As in other primary groups, the affectional bonds and sympathetic attitudes generated from the interaction in the campus cliques are basic to personality development. This paper will examine some of the unique aspects and peculiar adaptations made by the primary group in the campus culture.

The material for this discussion is derived chiefly from a study made of the dormitory friendship patterns at a midwestern junior college for girls which draws its students principally from the upper middle-class stratum of society. The various subgroups were identified on the basis of a sociographic charting of the friendship structure of six of the campus dormitories.

This type of presentation reveals a variety of "subgroupal" nucleations, the number and character of which may be used to describe the group's social behavior. The clique was found to be the most common type of subgroup¹ in the dormitories studied and our observations are limited to this particular structure.

After the subgroups were spotted in the "sociograms," extensive interviews were held with members of twenty-five clearly defined cliques.² Other information concerning these individuals was

¹ Open and closed cliques were found numerously. The open clique is a type of structure in which the intimate interaction is not completely exclusive. The closed clique is one in which there are no friendship choices outside the immediate group. Other types of subgroups are: clusters, which center on a dominant personality; and mutual pairs, triangles, and quadrangles in which two, three, or four individuals all choose each other as friends.

² Interviews held with clique members were "nondirective" in character with the real intent of the meeting obscured. This was done to secure a more spontaneous reaction and to avoid suspicion so that the interviewer could more accurately assess the behavior and personality characteristics of individual clique members.

secured from hall counselors, advisers, teachers, and friends of the students. Careful notations were made of the interests, attitudes, values, and behavior of clique members.

Early in the progress of the study it was recognized that one of the hypotheses would be only partially validated. The hypothesis was that the clique is a factor disruptive to campus unity; that it promotes snobbishness by its exclusiveness and is therefore an undesirable influence. While some of the findings certainly indicated negative characteristics, at the same time it was found that there are positive benefits gained by numerous individuals in their adjustments to college life because of clique membership.

One of the significant findings was that the clique is more influential in behavior determination than the larger dormitory or campus units. The individual members of the cliques are more loyal to the standards and more responsive to the values of the intimate subgroup than they are to the larger secondary campus groups of which they are also participants.

It is in the clique that the dynamic processes of socialization and acculturation take place. Loyalty to clique codes is of supreme importance to the members, and frequently status in the clique was enhanced by disloyalty to or ridicule of some of the formal campus codes.

Every clique studied had a central core of interest and a value pattern sufficiently unique that it could be identified by certain over-all behavior characteristics. Several of the hall counselors identified the cliques depicted on the sociograms and referred to them with such characterizations as "the literary group," "the jitterbug gang," "the bridge players," "that noisy bunch."

Brief characterization of several typical cliques follows:

No. 1 Five of the seven members of this clique are from the deep South and are known to their hall counselor as "that noisy gang." Their behavior is rather unrestrained and they tend to scoff at traditional behavior. They appeared rather bored at having to participate in

the ritual and expected behaviors of their social class. They tend to dress sloppily and the group rather frequently violates campus rules. Every member of the clique has a lower than average campus prestige rating.³

No. 2 The six members of this clique are from Midwestern states, with one exception, and all of them hold various editorial posts in campus publications. They are a very closely knit group with interests predominantly intellectual. They are known to their hall counselor as being very co-operative in their dormitory group-life. All of these girls have future literary ambitions, and spend a good deal of time talking about these concerns and working together on their writing projects.

No. 3 This clique has no common geographic background but there is a central behavior pattern that is lively, exuberant, noisy, and bordering on the raucous. They enjoy jitterbug dancing, play cards almost constantly, and engage in adolescent banter about dates, clothes, and food. When this group is together there is hilarious laughter and giggling. They have a ready collection of wisecracks, jokes, and gags which they spring on each other with much glee. They are not in any sense discipline problems to the college but simply are not much impressed with the more serious intellectual concerns on the campus.

No. 4 All eight members of this clique are from the same southern state, with four of the members being from the same community in that state. All of them are charming conversationalists well-versed in the social ritual and niceties characteristic of their social class background. They are well-poised and groomed. They enjoy bridge, horse-back riding, and swimming. None belongs to a club whose concern is intellectual. They are very much at home at college teas and have proved themselves to be capable hostesses.

Everyone of the cliques studied was characterized by a set of mutual interests, and could be identified by several dominant values and behavior patterns to which the individual member gave her allegiance and loyalty.

A definite process in clique formation and operation was noted. Individuals with similar values and interests are attracted to each other, first on an informal basis. The dominant interest of the

³ Every student in the study was given a prestige rating score based on questionnaire data in which students were rated on different kinds of prestige-typed behavior, of both a positive and negative quality.

group is defined and redefined as additional friendships are attracted. The nucleus of the group is composed of those individuals closest to the clique's core of interest.

Some individuals find that their interests and values are not in accord with the dominant concerns of the clique and remove themselves, or are removed by the clique. The rejected individuals then gravitate to other groups hoping to find friends of a more kindred nature, and the whole process starts over. When the personnel of the clique is fairly well-established and the concerns of the subgroup defined, the clique operates continuously as an agency of socialization.

In the informal meetings and get-togethers of the clique campus personalities are discussed and rated, the campus social rituals interpreted, teachers and courses evaluated, intimate concerns are shared, and dating and rating are discussed.

Not only did the clique function in the area of primary group relationships, but it also served as a vehicle for the establishment of secondary group contacts. It was established that membership in campus organizations was initiated by members who would persuade friends in their own intimate circles to join the organization.

The informal intimate interactions of the clique occur in a variety of ways: at the drug store drinking "cokes," on the way to class, at late hour "feeds" in the rooms of the members, at bridge sessions; but most importantly at the ever present "bull sessions" held in various dormitory rooms.

Here attitudes are redefined, and the value structure of the group organized around the common concerns of the clique. While each member contributes to the interaction from which the total group point of view emerges, she in turn orients her own value scheme in terms of the clique value pattern and attitude structure.

Group loyalties in various degrees of intensity develop in the

cliques. Loyalty to clique standards was much higher in the closed than in the open cliques. The least amount of loyalty and the least rigidity in behavior patterning occurred in the cluster. In this case it was the strength of the leader's dominant personality that held the group together, with common values functioning more as an incidental factor.

Contrary to the hypothesis that the clique influence is largely detrimental to dormitory living we found that it served numerous very useful functions. For many individuals the clique is the chief area of expression. In the strange new world of the campus-culture the informal subgroup is the nearest equivalent of the family. The traumatic effect of separation from parents is cushioned because of the intimate friendly contacts provided in clique groupings.

In providing primary group type of contacts the clique protects its members from the rebuffs of the larger impersonal college groups. The clique provides the intimate social milieu where personal concerns can be given full expression.

One girl reacted to the interviewer as follows:

Maybe it isn't exactly right that the members of our clique should associate with each other on such an exclusive basis, but it means a lot to have these friends who accept you as you are. We share each other's secrets and are able to let our hair down. I think that friendships formed on this basis are one of the most satisfactory aspects of our college experience. Then too it means that we are never left out of things. We always have friends with whom we can go places and have good times. We often have feeds together late at night in which we talk and laugh and have lots of fun together. I wouldn't have missed this for anything in the world.

While friendship advantages were recognized, the hall counselors of this institution recognize several problems created by the presence of a large number of dormitory cliques. First, the unwanted or left-out individuals in some cases developed maladjustments because of their lack of social acceptance.

Secondly, the tendency of students to pattern their behavior according to the values of the subgroup rather than to those of the total college ideals resulted in less effectiveness of some of the campus organizations which hope for a more prominent recognition of their goals.

Thirdly, many of the cliques caused restraints to be applied to members making for a more than mediocre level of academic achievement. For the most part gaining distinction in scholarship was frowned on. Clique pressures seemed to keep academic achievement fairly close to the college norm.

Nevertheless the positive benefits of the clique cannot be denied, and counselors might well explore the possibility of finding a suitable campus subgroup of the clique variety for every individual. Also existing as a possibility for investigation is the matter of determining some satisfactory means of diverting some of the enthusiasm and loyalty for the clique to the total campus goals and value patterns.

Educators, guidance and personnel workers, social workers, sociologists, and others interested in problems of managing the group processes could well give more attention to the exploitation of the campus clique as an agency of socialization and education, particularly in terms of socially desirable goals.

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THE WAY OF THE BOY SCOUTS

An Evaluation of an American Youth Organization

Herbert S. Lewin

The paragon of the successful, self-reliant, courageous, and self-made man is a traditional American ideal. It is quite certainly the educational ideal of the Boy Scouts of America. But the virtues, which were of vital importance in the frontier period, have lost much of their meaning in a world in which the opportunities for individual achievement and initiative are clearly limited by an economic and social structure, which in spite of fluctuations is pretty well-organized and patterned. Today most youngsters are forced to work under conditions that demand a mechanical and standardized performance rather than individual resourcefulness. Nor is in this society as much opportunity left as heretofore to realize the adventurous and enterprising spirit so often advocated in the Scout literature. Individual achievement in our society is usually based on competition. It does not mean the type of territorial or economic expansion as in the days of unlimited frontier opportunities, rather it means an unrelenting weeding-out of the rival.

Obviously, to uphold and to inculcate ideals in a context in which they have lost or changed much of their original meaning and importance must ultimately lead to feelings of frustration. As yet, these feelings have not become too manifest in our society, but we must expect a strong increase of emotional imbalance and social maladjustment if the impossibility to realize frontier ideals becomes increasingly evident.

The Boy Scout movement cannot be unaware of the danger of emphasizing frontier ideals in a highly interdependent society. If for nothing else the organization must make those adaptive changes which are required by the altered social conditions.

These new conditions do not imply the elimination of self-

expression and individual accomplishment, nor do they abolish personal responsibility and independence. A democratic society must protect and give leeway to the self-expressive faculties of the individual. At the same time it must promote and protect social intercourse. It must demand from its members not only verbal acclaim but actual participation. It must ask that the ideals of man and society be re-examined from time to time rather than be considered as absolutely good because of their time acquired halo.

It is evident that the Boy Scouts strongly stress individual development and initiative. Yet, in spite of this emphasis, it is equally true that the Scout as an individual is socially less potent, and his status in society weaker than was that of the Hitler youth member in a totalitarian Germany. In his group the Scout is probably less anonymous than the former, because he gets more individual recognition and is more frequently called into (adult-supervised) leadership roles. But the Scout is not only more dependent upon individual adults, he too shares the fate of most individuals in our type of democratic society. For, although he is formally acknowledged as an individual in his own rights, he is much less immediately involved in significant social processes than was the young national socialist. Though under compulsion and for aims alien to us, the young German was a steady participant in the development of his country. As a student, as an apprentice, as member of his family, even as a member of his church, the Hitler youth was always made aware of his varied responsibility for his greater community. Nothing like it can be said of youngsters, Scouts or non-Scouts, in our country.

Thus, while stressing the need for the individual's personal development, the Scout movement has fallen short with respect to a policy of social participation. The movement, following a policy of "neutrality," "non-interference," and "impartiality," has not clearly taken issue with the great controversial problems of our society. As a whole, the policy of the Boy Scouts tends to

maintain the status quo. As a result it happens, for instance, that even today many Scout Troops will not accept Negro boys in their ranks. We shall see at once that the conceptions of the Boy Scout organization with respect to the requirements of our democratic society are vague.

Certainly the Boy Scouts is not the agency to develop its own political and social program. It is not a political youth organization. However, the organization through action of its National Council should do away with a policy of vague neutrality and social aloofness. It should invite the initiative of youth to formulate a program of social participation, a program which is especially concerned with the needs of youth. It should organize the education of boys for an incipient understanding of the great issues in our national community. Education is not an autonomous process that goes on independent of time and space. It is tied up with some particular civilization at some particular time. Civic education cannot be limited to the spread of generalities on the state of one's country.

No doubt, Scouts are loyal to American institutions, but what the Scouts (and for this purpose many other people) have not yet sufficiently learned is what these institutions mean in operation. A merely verbalized "loyalty to our form of government," or "tolerance toward everyone," is insufficient. Verbalization must be replaced by the capacity to distinguish between a well-working and an inefficient government, between sound and sham tolerance, between advanced and outworn regulations for our life.

Youths, even young boys of 13, 14, and 15 years of age, should get an elementary understanding of the world in which they live and which will be theirs tomorrow. They should be enabled to attempt an evaluation of their role and individual prospects in the great community to which they belong. They should not only be acquainted (as Scouts usually are) with the formal content of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, but they

should know something about the dynamic nature of these documents. The knowledge that both imply social progress and change will strengthen the awareness of youth, for present needs for social adjustment and still the possible fears of their elders who may see in change the forebodings of sinister forces.

The advocacy of "neutrality" and "nonpartisanship" deprives the Scout movement of its full effectiveness as an educational force not only in the national but in the international sphere as well. Scouting advocates the brotherhood of man and good will among all people of the earth. The international Boy Scout movement has followers among nearly all people of the earth, and the Boy Scouts of America as well as all brother organizations have often confirmed their common ideals not only by international signs, mottoes, and uniforms, but by international "jamborees," which, no doubt, have contributed to the mutual understanding of young people of different nations.

Yet, in the field of international understanding too Scouting relies on individual virtues, on moral sentiments rather than on the proposal of social change. Moral sentiments are entirely valuable as motivating power but they are meaningless without intelligent direction, *i.e.*, without proper interpretation and goal setting. The American and British Scout movement has recently made efforts to transplant the ideals of scouting to Germany in an effort to help in the re-education of the German youth. This intention is absolutely praiseworthy, but the evidence indicates that we deal here with a humanitarian effort without consideration of past experiences and the reality requirements of the German situation. It is an indisputable fact that all attempts to introduce scouting in Germany came to nil in pre-Hitler Germany. The few German youth groups ever affiliated with the international Boy Scout movement quickly gave up this affiliation, some groups adapted the ideals of the German Youth Movement, some became organizations for the pre-military training of youth. No doubt, the Scout

movement is now confronted with a task incomparably more difficult than decades ago.

We know that many, probably the majority of the German youths, are presently lethargic to most social and moral issues. This state of affairs is evidently undesirable. Whatever the means and ends of the reconstruction of Germany may be, the process of reconstruction cannot take place without the knowledge and participation of youth in many concrete aspects of this process. The phases of this process have to be explored, plans will have to be made and rejected, sides have to be taken pro or con. The attitude of "neutrality" and "non-interference" cannot possibly be maintained by a youth who is expected to explore and to assume a new way of life. This unavoidable participation in social issues does not mean the politization of youth in the sense of aligning youth with political parties. It means the inescapability of their becoming aware that such issues exist and that youth must participate in deciding on them. Under these circumstances it seems very improbable that a German Boy Scout movement, based on the universal principle of "nonpartisanship" and "neutrality," can acquire a mass basis in the foreseeable future in spite of the very best efforts of British and American Scout leaders.

Naturally, the young Boy Scout cannot possibly decide what his movement should do in the international scene, but here again he should possess at least an elementary understanding of fundamental international issues of progresses and changes going on rather than to rely on sentiments alone.

We know that in their patrol method the Boy Scouts have a potentially very effective method of developing an understanding for democratic practices, but the patrol method is frequently far from being practiced in the recommended way. The movement must make the patrol an instrument of democratic group education. Its activities must be "boy-planned and boy-executed" not only in principle but as a general practice. The patronizing of

youth by adults should be reduced to a minimum. No longer should the Scoutmaster appoint boy leaders, no longer should he prescribe the group program. Youth should participate in the formulation and direction of Scouting activities on a local and even on a national level. Boy and adult leader should receive a more intensive and systematic training. The range of activities should be enlarged in order to give Scouts a greater field of vision for their future participation in society. Play activities, scout crafts, hiking and camping should still form the bulk of the program, but it should also include activities that will introduce the Scout to the problems of social relationships, such as, get-togethers and discussions with other youth groups of different races and religions, intergroup discussion on juvenile delinquency, school problems or group tensions. All these activities do not have to possess an academic character, in fact they should not, but they should arouse an elementary interest for an understanding of social issues. In doing so the patrols will become the "working units" of Scouting, and the inadequate practices of many Scout leaders will yield to truly democratic approaches.

No doubt, the Scout movement has sound intentions with respect to the educational role of the patrol and its leadership. But in considering our society essentially in static terms it has robbed itself not only of greater effectiveness as an educational force, but it lacks the forward-driving aspects which motivated and enthused so many Hitler youth members. By the same token the Scout movement has not given its members the same strong sense of security and "belongingness" as many Hitler youth members possessed. The rather strong fluctuation of the Scout membership indicates the inability of the movement to hold lasting loyalty.

Indeed the most advanced educational methods will not work by themselves for the continuation and improvement of a democratic society and of any subgroup in it, if these methods are divorced from social context, *i.e.*, from the changing conditions of

our social life. The Hitler youth has often used methods of even greater effectiveness than those of the Boy Scouts. Good methods, even if practiced, and laudable goals, even if continuously recommended, do not guarantee by themselves a desired outcome unless there is a very definite interrelationship between both.

In any case, the Boy Scouts are a truly representative youth organization of American society. In a way the Boy Scouts typify a dilemma of democracy. In contrast to the Nazi system, in which everything was subordinated to a purpose imposed from above, our democratic society aims to realize its goals in the social process, a process in which every individual is expected to participate. The aims of a democracy emerge and are redefined in this process. Unlike the aims and methods of Nazism they often lack distinctiveness and direction. But, lacking a clear image of democracy, the Boy Scouts have not yet sufficiently striven for what appears to be the most desirable goal for a youth movement in a democracy: namely to prepare youths for participating citizenship in the spirit of independence, *i.e.*, not just for the preservation of the status quo but for active participation in the social processes of our time.

This is certainly a desirable goal for a youth organization. To attain it, however, is far more than a matter of good intentions and pronouncements. It is basically a matter of very prosaic practices of experiments that ultimately will emanate the desired goal. We must recognize that our society (and, of course, a youth movement in its midst) lacks greatly those meaning and impetus giving principles that permeate, by force or by voluntary acceptance, the life of individuals in a totalitarian state. We should not hesitate to learn even from our defeated enemies. While we refuse to accept their philosophy of life, we must concede that the Hitler youth put into practice educational principles, which are recommended, yet never satisfactorily realized in our country. The persistent channelizing of youthful energies into community service, the strict adherence to the principle of group leadership youth by youth, or the promotion of educational opportunities for gifted

youths regardless of social status are, as such, very laudable principles of group education, but were, under the national socialist regime, what has been called "perverted virtues." To be sure, these "virtues" were used for ends unacceptable in a democracy, but of significance is (1) that the Hitler youth emphasized and promoted principles which as such are considered by us as rather advanced; (2) that there was much less of a cleavage between recommended goals and practices than in our society; and (3) that the convergence of means and ends was apparently a strong force in maintaining the emotional balance of the individual and a sound morale of the group in peace time as well as under the hardship of war.

Yet, in spite of all imperfections of democratic education, we have some definite ideas about the educational means and ends of a democracy, and we know that the cleavage between recommended ends and practices can be considerably narrowed. We know that our youth shall be educated to independent thinking, to respect and understand the opinions and convictions of others, and to a co-operative effort for the weal of the community. We know further that youth in a democracy shall be guided rather than be ruled, and taught how to discern right from wrong rather than be indoctrinated by totalitarian principles.

Youth will be one of the strongest forces in the coming social reconstruction and reorganization of our democratic order. Youth could stay aside and be passed over in a static society that relied on the transfer of tradition and was reluctant to release the creative energies of youth. But, a new social order must be built with the active and enthusiastic support of youth, a youth unencumbered by traditional conventions and prejudices and ready to be the pioneer of a better future. This is youth's historical function. The youth movement, testing and overhauling its old methods and ends, must prepare to partake decisively in this development.

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ADOLESCENT PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY CO-ORDINATING COUNCILS

Abe B. Stein

If young people are to become the self-reliant, well-adjusted, and critical-thinking adults, who are essential to the success of a democratic society, then adolescents must be recognized as being increasingly capable of managing their own affairs, and of sharing responsibility for the workings of the community. Such sharing of responsibility can be brought about only if adults are willing to regard adolescents as responsible persons who have dignity and individual rights.

During the period of adolescence, people should be and can be prepared to take an active and full part in the affairs of their community. Nor should we think of this process as merely preparation for the future; instead, it is concerned with current and full participation of adolescents in the affairs of the community. An excellent medium for such participation is the community co-ordinating council which will be described herein. In addition, a specific school program will be recommended which might help youths to participate as full-fledged members of the community co-ordinating council.

The Community Co-ordinating Council

In many communities there exists a duplication of community activities quite frequently accompanied by "cut-throat" competition for funds, prestige, power, and priority. There results a waste and a poor distribution of public funds and private contributions. There are numerous petty prejudices—sometimes supported by legal enactment—concerning administration and areas of function, and occasionally there are even discriminations in service against groups because of their race, religion, sex, economic status, or political affiliation. The net result of these overlapping baili-

wicks of special and restricted function is all the more tragic because, at best, the resources for community service are limited. It is generally recognized that an excellent way to eliminate these refined inefficiencies is to resort to the formation of a community co-ordinating council. Such a community co-ordinating council would be concerned with the total field of human welfare, and might be composed of representatives of all public and private agencies dedicated to welfare programs. The public agencies in this category, as, for example, the departments of education, health, police, fire, sanitation, and welfare, should, of course, be represented in the council. The voluntary agencies like the cancer, heart, infantile paralysis, and tuberculosis associations, for example, would be included similarly. All social-work, child-welfare, and family-welfare agencies; service clubs, such as the Lions, the Elks, the Kiwanians, and the Masons, church groups, veterans' organizations, the YMCA and the YMHA—indeed, all the civic-minded, "helping-hand" organizations functioning in a community—would belong on the council. The point to be made here, however, is that the membership roster would be incomplete and unbalanced if the representation were made up entirely of adults. It is not only that such membership would awaken a civic consciousness early and prevent the all-too-common passivity of young adulthood in the matter of assuming community responsibilities; it is also that the functions of a community council immediately would become more effective through the use of the viewpoints, skills, and special enthusiasms of the adolescent community.

Some attention to the general organization principles governing a good community council ought to be given here. The following list, taken in part from the recommendations of the 1947 National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, is recommended:

1. The function of the council, as implied in its name, should be that of co-ordinating rather than of directly operating the services involved.

It should develop the existing facilities and resources, and make recommendations for new ones to meet increasing needs.

2. Representation or membership should be on the broadest possible basis.

3. Both professional and lay persons and groups should be included.

4. The organizational pattern should be kept simple and flexible.

5. All representative groups should retain their autonomy but should be related to all other groups and to the council—as in the case of the fifty-five nations membership of the United Nations.

6. The council always should be guided by its aim of improving the whole area of human welfare—not by aims of policing existing set-ups.

The planning and co-ordinating functions of the council would fall under four broad categories. The four categories and some activities which should be included under them are:

1. *Economic planning.* This should deal with the development of a sound commercial and industrial structure so that people would have an opportunity to earn an adequate living.

2. *Physical planning.* This should deal with the use of land and the development of the community with respect to streets, parks, sewers, public housing, and public buildings.

3. *Social planning.* This should deal with problems of health, welfare, and the constructive use of leisure time, which would include all the regular welfare and recreational aspects of the programs of the schools and of the police; and of the medical, dental, and other professions.

4. *Cultural planning.* This should deal with the educational, religious, artistic, and general cultural development of the community.

Some one person or agency could initiate the organization of the council by inviting representatives of all the afore-mentioned community agencies to an organizational meeting. As soon as possible, the community needs could be surveyed. Such a jointly run survey need reflect on no single agency among the total; for it would not be an efficiency engineer's study of an existing group's performance. When the survey has been translated into planned remedy, the function of each agency would be clearly articulated;

its service understood; only its partial responsibility taken for granted; and its failures felt as the community's loss, not as an example of the inefficiency or stupidity of the administering body.

There are in the nations's recent history countless examples of some such community organization. It is not the purpose here, primarily, to indicate any but the broadest outlines of such an organization. The chief point to be made, here, is that youth must share in its community projects, both for the immediate and ultimate good of the community and for the immediate and ultimate good of the individual youths.

Where a community offers its youth such an opportunity of real participation in social control, the schools should seize the magnificent opportunities at hand. Some attention is here given to the type of school program which might emerge in this favored environment.

The School Program

The school could schedule a regular course of study, particularly at the high-school level, for the purpose of student discussion, planning, and practice in community council participation. What would go into such a course would of course depend upon the community and its needs; or, to put it differently, what would go into such a course would depend upon what would have gone into the given community co-ordinating council. It ought to be a course which would have as much dignity, as much "status" as any other course in the curriculum, without connotation of the extracurricular, or the optional one-fourth unit credit associated with minor electives. If it would be necessary to limit such a definitive preoccupation with these matters to the twelfth grade, then, at least, the focus of the social-studies work at each of the previous levels could be the preparation for the climax course. Community civics, usually taught early in a high-school career, would be ready-made for such an auxiliary purpose as has been

suggested. Identification of problems, which is the first need of adolescents looking at the civic structure, would begin here. Such themes as the interdependence of men, the relation of responsibility to privilege, the danger of apathetic citizenry—all announced aims of world history courses—could be translated into community projects; or at least into recognition of a need for them, in the second of these typical social-studies offerings in the high-school program. It is of course not only a matter of attitude! Skills are involved, and the ordinary skills of unearthing facts could well be developed by unearthing *local* facts. The connection of these skills with the ultimate community surveys is plain. The matter of presiding at meetings of organized groups, of acting in accord with constitutional and parliamentary rule, of speaking effectively and briefly—all these are more urgently motivated when there is a specific and local climax to be anticipated outside the school world.

No school by itself can provide such excellent motivations as will exist when the community initiates the opportunity for school training to function directly. Just as the typing student "gladly learns" when the community needs typists, so would the social-science student "gladly learn" when the community needs him and shows that it does.

Example of Active Adolescent Participation

To illustrate how active adolescent participation can function in the solution of a problem, let us consider the following case. Several instances of juvenile delinquency had suddenly appeared in the community. The nature of the delinquencies included petty thievery, sex offenses, and vandalism. The council met and the entire meeting was devoted to the afore-mentioned problem. The council's committee on child welfare was assigned to study the problem and make recommendations. This committee was composed of one adolescent representative as well as representatives of other agencies which were part of the council. The adolescent

representative took his assignment directly to the student body. "Juvenile Delinquency in the Community" became the topic for discussion in the regular class periods of the course "Community Affairs." The students, because of their interest in and intimacy with the problem, easily recognized the needs, and made numerous recommendations. These recommendations were presented to the adolescent member of the committee on child welfare, who in turn reported these findings to that committee. The contributions of the adolescent members were invaluable to the committee on child welfare, especially the recommendations for solution which were suggested by the adolescents.

One of the recommendations was that provisions be made for wholesome recreation. It was suggested that the high-school gymnasium, located in that community, be made available after school hours under adequate supervision. This recommendation was approved by the council, and was carried out because of the co-operation of the school board of education, which provided the physical facilities; the mens' service organizations, which paid the salaries necessary to provide adequate supervision of the facilities; and the children, who co-operated enthusiastically—due in no small measure to the fact that they had actively participated in the policy making.

The adolescents made several other recommendations which were excellent. For example, regarding the matter of sex offenses, they proposed an improved course in sex education. All in all, the entire experience, from the planning to the carrying out, was an extremely valuable one for everyone concerned. Adolescents were *really* being educated for citizenship in a democracy.

Exploitation of Youngsters

Young people should not be exploited and asked to perform chores that are as hateful to them as they are to adults unless both groups share equally in the performance of these chores. The adolescents' duties as members of the council are not to be belittled

and disdained by asking them to clean up the parks; to be kind to animals; to do one good deed a day, etc. These may be admirable services, but adolescents may consider such requests as being childish and overworked, and they can easily point to adults who violate these same "boy scout" details. The council must maintain complete respect for its young constituents by allowing them equal representation and respect together with all groups. Boys and girls should not be asked to do the work without having participated in the planning, and without an understanding of the values of the outcome. If a group of students accepts a phase of a community problem to work on, helps plan the method of attack, carries it through to conclusion, and evaluates the outcome in terms of its purposes and plans, the service has been an excellent learning experience for all concerned.

Participation by All

Another danger that may develop is that the few students who represent the entire group may become the only ones who participate. The whole student group should be brought into the planning, organizing, and participating. The total student body in its "Community Affairs" course should be kept informed on all plans made by their representatives. No final policies or plans should be established without the sanction of the class. This tends to ensure each individual's accepting his responsibility more readily, and results in more active and wholehearted support of the plans.

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RURAL LEADERSHIP—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Mrs. Charley Tidd Cole

In rural areas leadership is limited by population, geographic conditions, and communication facilities. Potential leaders exist only in proportion to the number of people who live within a given area, and these become effective only in proportion to their ability to meet with the people or to communicate with them in some form, easily and without undue effort. Such limitation of leaders in rural areas, however, has led to the development of democratic leadership in a manner unequaled, indeed not even possible, in urban areas.

Because of its nature, rural leadership must be indigenous. This does not rule out the professional groups who are "sent in" to rural areas for the operation of "programs," but it does limit their contribution to that of an advisory status. Real leadership for programs must come from the people or the programs will die out, become ineffective, or resented and misunderstood even though endured for the benefits which may accrue. One of the primary and most significant function of outside professional groups is the discovery of local leadership, and its subsequent utilization.

Rural communities find their own leaders through a process of trial and error, or of acceptance and rejection. Once established this leadership becomes the center, the focal point around which is built the life of the community; and on which the community depends to share its problems, to help solve those problems, participate actively in the struggle, and to reap the rewards or defeats which accrue.

Community of interest defines any community, at all levels. For many years the rural community was built around the church or the school. To a large extent this is true today. Where such a system has disappeared there is evidence of decadent communities.

which no longer have a common interest. Basic to rural life is this group feeling, this awareness of belonging together in a common program of community living. When the church disappears, or when the school is abolished, community spirit is lost; there is no focus to it, no center around which it can revolve. Churches disappear primarily because the community can no longer afford to pay a minister or maintain a church building. This has come about because the people in the community are no longer of the same religious denomination, or because those who belong to different denominations now find it possible to go to town to attend the church of their own faith. When they were limited to their own community for church attendance due to the lack of good roads or transportation facilities, they joined with their neighbors in a common worship. With barriers removed they go elsewhere. For whatever reason, it is apparent that the rural church as we have known it in disadvantaged rural areas is passing, though slowly; and with its going disappears one of the strongest forces for democratic living in the nation. The small one-room schools are going along with the churches. Consolidation is becoming more effective year by year, leaving in its wake despairing communities which cannot stand together against a system they do not understand and in which they have so little voice. "Small attendance" schools are being closed, although thousands of children who live in isolated areas inaccessible to school transportation are thus made unable to attend school. There must be a common interest to maintain community life and progress. If the rural church and the rural school move to town then communities are faced with developing a new community interest of real worth, or of seeing one of questionable value develop from the outside. Examples are the well-known roadside dance hall and the emotionally conducted religious service.

This rural community, built around the church or the school, or without either, has its own natural leader. But the characteris-

tics of this leader are different from those usually associated with leadership. Ordinarily, leadership is accepted as leadership in one thing. "He is a leader in music, in civic affairs, in education, in welfare." He must be a leader in something to get people to follow him. But in small rural communities, the leader is a leader of the people in the community, not in art, not in religion, nor in recreation, but in just plain living. He is chosen, accepted, and retained through the years as a leader because he is one of the people, no better, no worse. He knows the problems of his community because he has the same problems; he shares its sorrows and joys because he has the same sorrows and joys; he goes hungry when his neighbors go hungry and grows rich when they grow rich. He has attained leadership because of his integrity. His people trust him and abide by his decisions. There is always one such person in every rural community if efforts will be made to discover him.

Rural areas are made up of many communities, each having its leader. Such a leader is ineffectual outside his own sphere of influence unless his abilities are recognized by leaders of other groups, and developed and utilized in a common cause. In this manner a new and larger community based on such a community of interests comes into existence. More and more, common interests are recognized in an everwidening circle; an increase in good roads, and in bus and car transportation make it possible to bring into one group people widely dispersed geographically, and communication facilities make it possible to do this on short notice.

There are, of course, many interests jointly held in rural-area communities. Interests in agriculture, education, and health are examples. Such mutual interests tend to converge and revolve around a common denominator of all these. Agriculture for what purpose? Education for whom? Health for what group? The leader of the small community becomes a spokesman for his children, his family, his neighbors. Not agriculture in general,

but food for his family, cash for his needs; not education in general, but learning for his own children and for himself; not health in general, but for his own immediate community. Thus individual leadership in a given area develops into group leadership for a common purpose on which is brought to bear the total forces of the group, both internally and externally.

An example of effective group leadership is found in the county-wide committees of the Save the Children Federation, a nonsectarian organization. Belonging to these committees are those interested in the children of the county. The federation is interested not in any particular child or children, but in all children regardless of economic or social status. Members are drawn from leaders of small rural communities throughout the county, from professional groups usually in the county seat town, from representatives of men's and women's organizations, and from the church and the P.T.A. The consolidation of these separate forces, the development of this indigenous leadership, and its effective use are the responsibilities of the S.C.F. area director. Trained and experienced in working with rural communities, she brings to each committee only the tools with which to work, and the inspiration to use them when necessary. Tools consist of simple social studies made by the committee, and on which is based the determination of the needs of children in the county. Tools also consist of information regarding the available resources at the national, state, and local levels of advice regarding the resources of the S.C.F. which are available, and the methods of utilizing such resources to secure maximum results. Complete responsibility for determining the Rural Child Service Program within the pattern of the National S.C.F. is delegated to the S.C.F. County Committee where full recognition for work accomplished is accorded it.

This group leadership in counties operating S.C.F. Rural Child Service Programs acts as a spokesman for the children in the

county and interprets their needs to those state and federal agencies, as well as to private organizations and lay groups, which can help to meet the needs. On the other hand, the group secures information concerning federal, state, and local programs operating for the benefit of children, and acts as an interpretative group on these to the entire county.

To summarize: Rural leadership is indigenous and democratic; it originates in small communities built around a common interest; it develops as the common interest widens into group leadership for communities of expanded size and interests. As a part of the group, the individual leader becomes an effective spokesman for his own group and an interpretative agent for other related programs.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Youth in Trouble, Studies in Delinquency and Despair, by AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD. Fort Worth, Texas: The Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946, 135 pages.

The relationship between the delinquency of an individual and his status in the community is the problem of particular interest to this author. He notes that the child who gets into court is usually a friendless child who is without a respected place in the community. Porterfield has pointed out earlier that the complainants who prefer charges against children tend to be peevish and irresponsible individuals. He presents the results of a survey of college students indicating that the behavior of the students had at one time been as delinquent as the behavior of children who are called into court, yet the youth who reach college have rarely been in court.

Three illustrative case stories are presented emphasizing the struggle for status and for a feeling of belongingness. The author feels that the community as a whole is responsible for the criminal cultural patterns that exist within it, consequently any adequate prevention program must involve processes of community organization, starting with co-ordinating councils or area councils to integrate and enlarge existing programs.

There is a certain amount of duplication of material in different chapters, apparently due to the fact that some of the chapters were published earlier as separate articles. Despite the rather loose editing, however, the plea for the education of the community to the necessity for a broad co-ordinated program is very strong.

PAUL SHELDON

An Educational Odyssey, by HENRY NELSON SNYDER. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947, 272 pages.

Doctor Snyder was president of Wofford College at Spartansburg, South Carolina, from 1902 to 1942. His discussion of the roles played by this small church-related (Methodist) college and its president in the affairs of the state, and indeed the nation, makes interesting reading.

From the administrators' point of view, many topics are dealt with in

a challenging way. From the standpoint of what should be the function of the liberal-arts college in our society the author, by description rather than by preaching, gives the answer.

Over and above these items, however, is a more basic consideration, namely, the advantage of the small school. Educators are beginning to understand that changes in attitudes and personality are best made by producing situations in which people are forced to change "conceptions of self."

In this respect, on the small college campus where contacts with faculty and other students are intimate, sympathetic, and warm, there is provided the situation *par excellence* for achieving such changes. Of course academic standards cannot be sacrificed by keeping the student body too small, but up to this point these small colleges are holding their own in the competition. This is because the larger schools have not been able to duplicate the benefits provided by the smaller colleges.

DAN W. DODSON

The Reduction of Intergroup Tension, by ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.

New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947, 153 + xi pages.

This survey of research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious-group-relations was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and supervised by the Social Science Research Council under the direction of a committee composed of Charles Dollard, Carl I. Hovland, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

The study attempts to appraise present programs, examine postulates upon which research is based, and suggest some possibilities for research. The last mentioned aspect of the study is perhaps the most important part of the book.

The most amazing part of the work is the section titled "Summary and Prospect." Here nine points summarize the study: (1) Intergroup tension are persistent, widespread, and serious; (2) there is much organized activity to reduce hostility; (3) working assumptions of action programs have not been validated by research; (4) existing findings do not show completely the effects of communication and contact in changing intergroup attitudes; (5) there is an urgent need for more research; (6) hypotheses point to possibility of integrated

theory for explanation of intergroup relations; (7) some feasible research approaches are now being tested by research; (8) a wide range of topics is now available for research; and (9) practitioners show a growing interest in research which is relevant to action-needs.

Perhaps it was time to elaborate the obvious, but one would expect that an organization such as the one sponsoring this study would have let some one else do it. As long as researches show only need for more research (no. 3), action programs will have to move ahead without testing the assumptions which research hopes to validate. To assume that an integrated theory of intergroup relations will be unfolded by research soon is somewhat messianic in this reviewer's opinion. Much more piecemeal research will have to be done before such a pattern emerges.

DAN W. DODSON

The Social Effects of Aviation, by WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN, with the assistance of JEAN L. ADAMS and S. C. GILFILLAN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, 755 pages.

In educational circles during the last few years there has been considerable discussion concerning the social effects of aviation. Professor Ogburn has for the first time, to this reviewer's knowledge, sought to develop a definitive work on this subject. His chapters "On Predicting the Future," and "On Predicting the Social Effects of Invention," could be read with profit by all those interested in the subject. Part II is an excellent treatment of the uses of the airplane in nonmilitary activities, and includes both scheduled airline transportation and private flying. Part III, which comprises more than half of the book, treats well the social effects of aviation upon population, the family, cities, religion, health, recreation, crime, education, railroads, ocean shipping, manufacturing, marketing, mining, real estate, newspapers, agriculture, forestry, stock raising, government, public administration, international relations, and international policies. It is this reviewer's opinion that this book will have much effect upon the thinking of public-school teachers and sociologists both as they consider the development of the teaching of aviation in the public schools and the sociological problems which the development of aviation has brought to us.

ROLAND H. SPAULDING

Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, by HARVEY WASHINGTON GREENE. Boston: Meader Publishing Company, 1946, 275 pages.

Between 1876 and 1943 "at least" 381 persons of Negro descent received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, or some corresponding equivalent thereof. Professor Greene's volume analyzes the achievements and records of 368 of these scholars, their occupational status, research output, honors and awards, and membership in learned and other societies.

The institutions which have conferred ten or more of these degrees are Chicago, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Harvard, Ohio State, Michigan, New York, Iowa, Pittsburgh, Yale, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The five Negro undergraduate colleges that supplied the largest number of persons to receive doctorates were Howard, Lincoln (Pennsylvania), Fisk, Virginia, Union, and Morehouse. The degree holders were distributed over 37 academic fields, the largest number being in the social sciences.

IRA DE A. REID

Educational Guidance: Its Principles and Practice, by RUTH STRANG. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, 268 pages.

This book differs from other introductory textbooks on guidance in giving much more attention to the educational aspects of the guidance program. In addition to the topics ordinarily covered in guidance books, there is included additional material on the problems of college entrance, the transition from high school to college, and a large number of illustrative cases. Appendix D reports the "intellectual level of student bodies of colleges taking the American Council on Education psychological examination in 1934."

ROBERT HOPPOCK

